

LIBRARY

Brigham Young University

RARE BOOK COLLECTION

Rare

Z

232

.G565

1923

no. 3

BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY



A standard 1D barcode representing the number 31197 22967 9128.

31197 22967 9128

a



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2019 with funding from
Brigham Young University

<https://archive.org/details/hydriotaphiaurnb03brow>

HYDRIOTAPHIA **¶** URN-BURIAL: OR A DISCOURSE OF
THE SEPULCHRAL URNS LATELY FOUND IN NORFOLK
BY SIR THOMAS BROWNE, PHYSICIAN, OF NORWICH
¶ PRINTED & SOLD AT THE GOLDEN COCKEREL PRESS
WALTHAM SAINT LAWRENCE, BERKSHIRE.

TO MY WORTHY & HONOURED FRIEND THOMAS
LE GROS OF CROSTWICK, ESQUIRE. ☙ ☙ ☙

WHEN THE FUNERAL PYRE WAS OUT AND THE LAST
valediction over, men took a lasting adieu of their interred friends, little
expecting the curiosity of future ages should comment upon their ashes;
&, having no old experience of the duration of their relics, held no opinion
of such after-considerations. ☙ BUT who knows the fate of his bones, or
how often he is to be buried? Who hath the oracle of his ashes, or whither
they are to be scattered? The relics of many lie, like the ruins of Pom-
peys, in all parts of the earth; and, when they arrive at your hands, these
may seem to have wandered far who, in a direct & meridian travel, have
but few miles of known earth between yourself and the pole. ☙ THAT
the bones of Theseus should be seen again in Athens was not beyond con-
jecture and hopeful expectation; but that these should arrive so oppor-
tunely to serve yourself was an hit of fate, & honour beyond prediction.
☞ WE cannot but wish these urns might have the effect of theatrical ves-
sels and great hippodrome urns in Rome, to resound the acclamations &
honour due unto you. But these are sad and sepulchral pitchers, which
have no joyful voices, silently expressing old mortality, the ruins of for-
gotten times, and can only speak with life, how long in this corruptible
frame some parts may be uncorrupted; yet able to outlast bones long un-
born and noblest pile among us. ☙ WE present not these as any strange
sight or spectacle unknown to your eyes who have beheld the best of urns
and noblest variety of ashes, who are yourself no slender master of anti-
quities, & can daily command the view of so many imperial faces; which
raiseth your thoughts unto old things and consideration of times before
you, when even living men were antiquities; when the living might ex-
ceed the dead, and to depart this world could not be properly said to go
unto the greater number. And so run up your thoughts upon the Ancient
of Days, the antiquary's truest object, unto whom the eldest parcels are
young and earth itself an infant, and without Egyptian account makes

but small noise in thousands. **¶** WE were hinted by the occasion, not catched the opportunity, to write of old things, or intrude upon the antiquary. We are coldly drawn unto discourses of antiquities who have scarce time before us to comprehend new things or make out learned novelties. But, seeing they arose, as they lay almost in silence among us, at least in short account suddenly passed over, we were very unwilling they should die again & be buried twice among us. **¶** BESIDE, to preserve the living & make the dead to live, to keep men out of their urns & discourse of human fragments in them, is not impertinent unto our profession; whose study is life and death, who daily behold examples of mortality, and of all men least need artificial *memento*es, or coffins by our bedside, to mind us of our graves. **¶** 'TIS time to observe occurrences, & let nothing remarkable escape us; the supinity of elder days hath left so much in silence, or time hath so martyred the records, that the most industrious heads do find no easy work to erect a new *Britannia*. **¶** 'TIS opportune to look back upon old times, and contemplate our forefathers. Great examples grow thin, and to be fetched from the passed world. Simplicity flies away, and iniquity comes at long strides upon us. We have enough to do to make up ourselves from present and passed times, and the whole stage of things scarce serveth for our instruction. A complete piece of virtue must be made from the Centos of all ages, as all the beauties of Greece could make but one handsome Venus. When the bones of King Arthur were digged up, the old race might think they beheld therein some originals of themselves; unto these of our urns none here can pretend relation, & can only behold the relics of those persons who, in their life giving the laws unto their predecessors, after long obscurity now lie at their mercies. But, remembering the early civility they brought upon these countries, and forgetting long-passed mischiefs, we mercifully preserve their bones and piss not upon their ashes. **¶** IN the offer of these antiquities we drive not at ancient families, so long outlasted by them. We are far from erecting your worth upon the pillars of your forefathers, whose merits you illustrate. We honour your old virtues, conformable unto times before you, which are the noblest armoury. And, having long experience of

your friendly conversation, void of empty formality, full of freedom, constant and generous honesty, I look upon you as a gem of the old rock, and must profess myself even to urn and ashes.

Your ever faithful Friend and Servant.

THOMAS BROWNE.

NORWICH

May 1st.

I.

N THE DEEP DISCOVERY OF THE SUBTER-
ranean world a shallow part would satisfy some enquirers who, if two or three yards were open about the surface, would not care to rake the bowels of Potosi and regions towards the centre. Nature hath furnished one part of the earth, and man another. The treasures of time lie high, in urns, coins, and monuments, scarce below the roots of some vegetables. Time hath endless rarities, and shows of all varieties; which reveals old things in heaven, makes new discoveries in earth, and even earth itself a discovery. That great antiquity America lay buried for thousands of years, and a large part of the earth is still in the urn unto us. **¶** **THOUGH**, if Adam were made out of an extract of the earth, all parts might challenge a restitution, yet few have returned their bones far lower than they might receive them; not affecting the graves of giants, under hilly and heavy coverings, but content with less than their own depth have wished their bones might lie soft, and the earth be light upon them. Even such as hope to rise again would not be content with central interment, or so desperately to place their relics as to lie beyond discovery & in no way to be seen again, which happy contrivance hath made communication with our forefathers, & left unto our view some parts which they never beheld themselves. **¶** **THOUGH** earth hath engrossed the name, yet water hath proved the smartest grave; which in forty days swallowed almost mankind and the living creation; fishes not wholly escaping, except the salt ocean were handsomely contempered by a mixture of the fresh element. **¶** **MANY** have taken voluminous pains to determine the state of the soul upon disunion; but men have been most phantastical in the singular contrivances of their corporal dissolution; whilst the soberest nations have rested in two ways, of simple inhumation and burning. **¶** **THAT** carnal interment, or burying, was of the elder date the old examples of Abraham and the patriarchs are sufficient to illustrate, and were without competition, if it could be made out that Adam was buried near Damascus, or Mount Calvary according to some tradition. God Himself, that buried but one, was pleased to make choice of this way, collectable from Scripture expression and the hot contest between

Satan and the archangel, about discovering the body of Moses. But the practice of burning was also of great antiquity and of no slender extent. For (not to derive the same from Hercules) noble descriptions there are hereof in the Grecian funerals of Homer, in the former obsequies of Patroclus and Achilles; and somewhat elder in the Theban war, and solemn combustion of Meneceus, and Archemorus, contemporary unto Jair the eighth judge of Israel. Confirmable also among the Trojans, from the funeral pyre of Hector, burnt before the gates of Troy; and the burning of Penthesilea the Amazonian queen; & long continuance of that practice in the inward countries of Asia; while as low as the reign of Julian we find that the king of Chionia burnt the body of his son and interred the ashes in a silver urn. *¶* THE same practice also extended far west; and, besides Herulians, Getes, and Thracians, was in use with most of the Celtae, Sarmatians, Germans, Gauls, Danes, Swedes, Norwegians, not to omit some use thereof among Carthaginians and Americans. Of greater antiquity among the Romans than most opinion, or Pliny seems to allow; for (beside the old Table Laws of burning or burying within the city, of making the funeral fire with planed wood, or quenching the fire with wine) Manlius the consul burnt the body of his son; Numa, by special clause of his will, was not burnt but buried; & Remus was solemnly burnt, according to the description of Ovid. *¶* CORNELIUS SYLLA was not the first whose body was burnt in Rome, but first of the Cornelian family; which, being indifferently, not frequently used before, from that time spread and became the prevalent practice. Not totally pursued in the highest run of cremation, for when even crows were funerally burnt, Poppea the wife of Nero found a peculiar grave-interment. Now, as all customs were founded upon some bottom of reason, so there wanted not grounds for this, according to several apprehensions of the most rational dissolution. Some being of the opinion of Thales that water was the original of all things thought it most equal to submit unto the principle of putrefaction, and conclude in a moist relentment. Others conceived it most natural to end in fire, as due unto the master principle in the composition, according to the doctrine of Heraclitus; and therefore heaped up large piles, more actively to waft them toward that element, whereby

they also declined a visible degeneration into worms and left a lasting parcel of their composition. **¶** SOME apprehended a purifying virtue in fire, refining the grosser commixture and firing out the æthereal particles so deeply immersed in it. And such as by tradition or rational conjecture held any hint of the final pyre of all things, or that this element at last must be too hard for all the rest, might conceive most naturally of the fiery dissolution. Others pretending no natural grounds, politickly declined the malice of enemies upon their buried bodies. Which consideration led Sylla unto this practice; who, having thus served the body of Marius, could not but fear a retaliation upon his own—entertained after in the civil wars & revengeful contentions of Rome. **¶** **BUT**, as many nations embraced and many left it indifferent, so others too much affected or strictly declined this practice. The Indian Brachmans seemed too great friends unto fire, who burnt themselves alive, and thought it the noblest way to end their days in fire, according to the expression of the Indian burning himself at Athens in his last words upon the pyre unto the amazed spectators: ‘Thus I make myself immortal.’ **¶** **BUT** the Chaldeans, the great idolators of fire, abhorred the burning of their carcases as a pollution of that deity. The Persian magi declined it upon the like scruple, and, being only solicitous about their bones, exposed their flesh to the prey of birds and dogs. And the Parsees now in India, which expose their bodies unto vultures & endure not so much as *feretra* or biers of wood, the proper fuel of fire, are led on with such niceties. But whether the ancient Germans, who burned their dead, held any such fear to pollute their deity of Herthus or the Earth, we have no authentic conjecture. **¶** **THE** Egyptians were afraid of fire, not as a deity but a devouring element mercilessly consuming their bodies & leaving too little of them; and therefore by precious embalmments, depositure in dry earths, or handsome enclosure in glasses, contrived the noblest ways of integral conservation. And from such Egyptian scruples, imbibed by Pythagoras, it may be conjectured that Numa and the Pythagorical sect first waived the fiery solution. **¶** **THE** Scythians, who swore by wind and sword, that is by life and death, were so far from burning their bodies that they declined all interment, and made their graves in the air; & the Ichthyo-

phagi or fish-eating nations about Egypt affected the sea for their grave, thereby declining visible corruption & restoring the debt of their bodies. Whereas the old heroes, in Homer, dreaded nothing more than water, or drowning—probably upon the old opinion of the fiery substance of the soul, only extinguishable by that element—and therefore the poet emphatically implieth the total destruction in this kind of death, which happened to Ajax Oileus. **¶** THE old Balearians had a peculiar mode, for they used great urns & much wood, but no fire, in their burials, while they bruised the flesh & bones of the dead, crowded them into urns, & laid heaps of wood upon them. And the Chinese, without cremation or urnal interment of their bodies, make use of trees & much burning, while they plant a pine-tree by their grave, & burn great numbers of printed draughts of slaves and horses over it, civilly content with their companies *in effigy*, which barbarous nations exact unto reality. **¶** CHRISTIANS abhorred this way of obsequies, and, though they sticke not to give their bodies to be burned in their lives, detested that mode after death, affecting rather a depositure than assumption, & properly submitting unto the sentence of God to return not unto ashes but unto dust again, conformable unto the practice of the patriarchs, the interment of our Saviour, of Peter, Paul & the ancient martyrs. And so far at last declining promiscuous interment with pagans that some have suffered ecclesiastical censures for making no scruple thereof. **¶** THEMussulman believers will never admit this fiery resolution. For they hold a present trial from their black & white angels in the grave, which they must have made so hollow that they may rise upon their knees. **¶** THE Jewish nation, though they entertained the old way of inhumation, yet sometimes admitted this practice. For the men of Jabesh burnt the body of Saul; and by no prohibited practice, to avoid contagion or pollution, in time of pestilence burnt the bodies of their friends. And when they burnt not their dead bodies, yet sometimes used great burnings near and about them, deducible from the expressions concerning Jehoram, Zedechias, & the sumptuous pyre of Asa. And were so little averse from pagan burning that the Jews lamenting the death of Cæsar, their friend and revenger on Pompey, frequented the place where his body was burnt for many nights together. And, as they raised noble

monuments and mausoleums for their own nation, so they were not scrupulous in erecting some for others, according to the practice of Daniel, who left that last sepulchral pile in Ecbatana, for the Median & Persian kings. **¶** BUT even in times of subjection & hottest use they conformed not unto the Roman practice of burning, whereby the prophecy was secured concerning the body of Christ, that it should not see corruption, or a bone should not be broken, which we believe was also providentially prevented, from the soldier's spear & nails that passed by the little bones both in his hands and feet; not of ordinary contrivance, that it should not corrupt on the cross, according to the laws of Roman crucifixion, or an hair of his head perish, though observable in Jewish customs to cut the hair of malefactors. **¶** NOR in their long cohabitation with Egyptians crept into a custom of their exact embalming, wherein deeply slashing the muscles & taking out the brains & entrails they had broken the subject of so entire a resurrection, nor fully answered the types of Enoch, Elijah, or Jonah, which yet to prevent or restore was of equal facility unto that rising power, able to break the fasciations & bands of death, to get clear out of the cerecloth & an hundred pounds of ointment, & out of the sepulchre before the stone was rolled from it. **¶** BUT, though they embraced not this practice of burning, yet entertained they many ceremonies agreeable unto Greek & Roman obsequies. And he that observeth their funeral feasts, their lamentations at the grave, their music, & weeping mourners, how they closed the eyes of their friends, how they washed, anointed, and kissed the dead, may easily conclude these were not mere pagan civilities. But whether that mournful burthen & treble calling out after Absalom had any reference unto the last conclamation & triple valediction used by other nations we hold but a wavering conjecture. **¶** CIVILIANS make sepulture but of the law of nations: others do naturally found it and discover it also in animals. They that are so thick-skinned as still to credit the story of the Phœnix may say something for animal burning. More serious conjectures find some examples of sepulture in elephants, cranes, the sepulchral cells of pismires, & practice of bees—which civil society carrieth out their dead and hath exequies, if not interments.

II.

THESOLEMNITIES, CEREMONIES, RITES OF THEIR cremation or interment, so solemnly delivered by authors, we shall not disparage our reader to repeat. Only the last and lasting part in their urns, collected bones and ashes, we cannot wholly omit, or decline that subject, which occasion lately presented in some discovered among us. **¶** IN a field of Old Walsingham not many months past were digged up between forty and fifty urns, deposited in a dry and sandy soil, not a yard deep, nor far from one another. Not all strictly of one figure, but most answering these described: some containing two pounds of bones, distinguishable in skulls, ribs, jaws, thigh-bones, and teeth, with fresh impressions of their combustion, besides the extraneous substances, like pieces of small boxes, or combs handsomely wrought, handles of small brass instruments, brazen nippers, and in one some kind of opal. **¶** NEAR the same plot of ground for about six yards compass were digged up coals and incinerated substances, which begat conjecture that this was the *ustrina*, or place of burning their bodies, or some sacrificing place unto the *manes*, which was properly below the surface of the ground, as the *arae* and altars unto the gods & heroes above it. **¶** THAT these were the urns of Romans from the common custom & place where they were found is no obscure conjecture, not far from a Roman garrison and but five miles from Brancaster, set down by ancient record under the name of Branodunum. And where the adjoining town, containing seven parishes, in no very different sound but Saxon termination, still retains the name of Burnham, which being an early station, it is not improbable the neighbour parts were filled with habitations, either of Romans themselves, or Britons Romanized which observed the Roman customs. **¶** NOR is it improbable that the Romans early possessed this country. For, though we meet not with such strict particulars of these parts before the new institution of Constantine & military charge of the count of the Saxon shore, and that about the Saxon invasions, the Dalmatian horsemen were in the garrison of Brancaster, yet in the time of Claudius, Vespasian, & Severus we find no less than threelegions dispersed through the province of Britain. And as high as the reign of Claudius a great overthrow was given unto the Iceni by the Roman lieutenant

Ostorius. Not long after the country was so molested that, in hope of a better state, Prasutagus bequeathed his kingdom unto Nero and his daughters; and Boadicea, his queen, fought the last decisive battle with Paulinus. After which time and conquest of Agricola, the lieutenant of Vespasian, probable it is they wholly possessed this country, ordering it into garrisons or habitations best suitable with their securities; and so some Roman habitations not improbable in these parts as high as the time of Vespasian, where the Saxons after seated, in whose thin-filled maps we yet find the name of Walsingham. Now, if the Iceni were but Gammadims, Anconians, or men that lived in an angle, wedge, orelbow of Britain, according to the original etymology, this country will challenge the emphatical appellation, as most properly making the elbow or *iken* of Icenia. **¶** THAT Britain was notably populous is undeniable from that expression of Cæsar. That the Romans themselves were early in no small numbers, seventy thousand with their associates slain by Boadicea affords a sure account. And, though not many Roman habitations are now known, yet some by old works, rampiers, coins, and urns do testify their possessions. Some urns have been found at Castor, some also about South-creak, and not many years past no less than ten in a field at Buxton, not near any recorded garrison. Nor is it strange to find Roman coins of copper and silver among us, of Vespasian, Trajan, Adrian, Commodus, Antoninus, Severus, &c.; but the greater number of Dioclesian, Constantine, Constans, Valens, with many of Victorinus, Posthumius, Tetricus, and the thirty tyrants in the reign of Gallienus; & some as high as Adrianus have been found about Thetford, or Sitomagus, mentioned in the *Itinerary* of Antoninus as the way from Venta or Castor unto London. But the most frequent discovery is made at the two Castors by Norwich and Yarmouth, at Burghcastle, and Brancaster. **¶** BESIDES the Norman, Saxon, and Danish pieces of Cuthred, Canutus, William, Matilda, and others, some British coins of gold have been dispersedly found, and no small number of silver pieces near Norwich, with a rude head upon the obverse, & an ill-formed horse on the reverse, with inscriptions *Ic. Duro. T.*; whether implying Iceni, Durotriges, Tascia or Trinobantes, we leave to higher conjecture. Vulgar chronology will have Norwich Castle as

old as Julius Cæsar; but his distance from these parts and its Gothick form of structure abridgeth such antiquity. The British coins afford conjecture of early habitation in these parts, though the city of Norwich arose from the ruins of Venta; and, though perhaps not without some habitation before, was enlarged, builded, and nominated by the Saxons. In what bulk or populosity it stood in the old East-Angle monarchy tradition & history are silent. Considerable it was in the Danish eruptions when Sueno burnt Thetford and Norwich, and Ulfketel, the governor thereof, was able to make some resistance, & after endeavoured to burn the Danish navy. **¶** HOW the Romans left so many coins in countries of their conquests seems of hard resolution, except we consider how they buried them underground when, upon barbarous invasions, they were fain to desert their habitations in most part of their empire, and the strictness of their laws forbidding to transfer them to any other uses; wherein the Spartans were singular, who, to make their copper money useless, contempered it with vinegar. That the Britons left any some wonder, since their money was iron and iron rings before Cæsar; and those of after-stamp by permission, and but small in bulk and bigness. That so few of the Saxons' remain, because, overcome by succeeding conquerors upon the place, their coins by degrees passed into other stamps and the marks of after-ages. **¶** THAN the time of these urns deposited or precise antiquity of these relics nothing of more uncertainty; for since the lieutenant of Claudius seems to have made the first progress into these parts, since Boadicea was overthrown by the forces of Nero, & Agricola put a full end to these conquests, it is not probable the country was fully garrisoned or planted before; and, therefore, however these urns might be of later date, not likely of higher antiquity. **¶** AND the succeeding emperors desisted not from their conquests in these and other parts, as testified by history and medal-inscription yet extant; the province of Britain, in so divided a distance from Rome, beholding the faces of many imperial persons, & in large account, no fewer than Cæsar, Claudius, Britannicus, Vespasian, Titus, Adrian, Severus, Commodus, Geta, & Caracalla. **¶** A GREAT obscurity herein, because no medal or emperor's coin enclosed, which might denote the date of their interments; observable in many urns, and found

in those of Spitalfields, by London, which contained the coins of Claudius, Vespasian, Commodus, Antoninus, attended with lachrymatories, lamps, bottles of liquor, and other appurtenances of affectionate superstition which in these rural interments were wanting. ¶ SOME uncertainty there is from the period or term of burning, or the cessation of that practice. Macrobius affirmeth it was disused in his days; but most agree, though without authentic record, that it ceased with the Antonini—most safely to be understood after the reign of those emperors which assumed the name of Antoninus, extending unto Heliogabalus. Not strictly after Marcus; for about fifty years later we find the magnificent burning and consecration of Severus; & if we so fix this period or cessation, these urns will challenge above thirteen hundred years. ¶ BUT whether this practice was only then left by emperors and great persons, or generally about Rome and not in other provinces, we hold no authentic account; for after Tertullian, in the days of Minucius, it was obviously objected upon Christians that they condemned the practice of burning. And we find a passage in Sidonius which asserteth that practice in France unto a lower account. And, perhaps, not fully disused till Christianity fully established, which gave the final extinction to these sepulchral bonfires.

¶ WHETHER they were the bones of men, or women, or children, no authentic decision from ancient custom in distinct places of burial. Although not improbably conjectured that the double sepulture or burying place of Abraham had in it such intention. But from exility of bones, thinness of skulls, smallness of teeth, ribs, and thigh bones, not improbable that many thereof were persons of minor age or women. Confirmable also from things contained in them. In most were found substances resembling combs, plates like boxes, fastened with iron pins, & handsomely overwrought like the necks or bridges of musical instruments, long brass plates overwrought like the handles of neat implements, brazen nippers, to pull away hair; and in one a kind of opal yet maintaining a bluish colour. ¶ NOW, that they accustomed to burn or bury with them things wherein they excelled, delighted, or which were dear unto them, either as farewells unto all pleasures or vain apprehension that they might use them in the other world, is testified by all antiquity, observable from the

gem or beryl ring upon the finger of Cynthia, the mistress of Propertius, when after her funeral pyre her ghost appeared unto him; and notably illustrated from the contents of that Roman urn preserved by Cardinal Farnese, wherein besides great number of gems with heads of gods and goddesses were found an ape of agath, a grasshopper, an elephant of amber, a crystal ball, three glasses, two spoons, and six nuts of crystal; and beyond the content of urns, in the monument of Childerick the First, and fourth king from Pharamond, casually discovered three years past at Tournay, restoring unto the world much gold richly adorning his sword, two hundred rubies, many hundred imperial coins, three hundred golden bees, the bones and horse-shoes of his horse interred with him, according to the barbarous magnificence of those days in their sepulchral obsequies. Although, if we steer by the conjecture of many and Septuagint expression, some trace thereof may be found even with the ancient Hebrews, not only from the sepulchral treasure of David but the circumcision knives which Joshua also buried. ¶ SOME men, considering the contents of these urns, lasting pieces & toys included in them, & the custom of burning with many other nations, might somewhat doubt whether all urns found among us were properly Roman relics, or some not belonging unto our British, Saxon, or Danish forefathers. ¶ IN the form of burial among the ancient Britons the large discourses of Cæsar, Tacitus, and Strabo are silent. For the discovery whereof, with other particulars, we must deplore the loss of that letter which Cicero expected or received from his brother Quintus, as a resolution of British customs; or the account which might have been made by Scribonius Largus, the physician, accompanying the Emperor Claudius, who might have also discovered that frugal bit of the old Britons which in the bigness of a bean could satisfy their thirst and hunger. ¶ BUT that the Druids and ruling priests used to burn & bury is expressed by Pomponius; that Bellinus, the brother of Brennus, & king of the Britons, was burnt is acknowledged by Polydorus, as also by Amandus Zierexensis in *Historia*, and Pineda in his *Universa Historia* (Spanish). That they held that practice in Gallia, Cæsar expressly delivereth. Whether the Britons (probably descended from them, of like religion, language, and manners) did not

sometimes make use of burning, or whether at least such as were after civilized unto the Roman life and manners, conformed not unto this practice we have no historical assertion or denial. But since, from the account of Tacitus, the Romans early wrought so much civility upon the British stock that they brought them to build temples, to wear the gown, and study the Roman laws and language, that they conformed also unto their religious rites and customs in burials seems no improbable conjecture. **¶** THAT burning the dead was used in Sarmatia is affirmed by Gaguinus; that the Sueons and Gothlanders used to burn their princes and great persons is delivered by Saxo and Olaus; that this was the old German practice is also asserted by Tacitus. And though we are bare in historical particulars of such obsequies in this island, or that the Saxons, Jutes, and Angles burnt their dead, yet came they from parts where 'twas of ancient practice, the Germans using it, from whom they were descended. And even in Jutland & Sleswick in Anglia Cymbrica urns with bones were found not many years before us. **¶** BUT the Danish and northern nations have raised an era or point of compute from their custom of burning their dead; some deriving it from Unguinus, some from Frotho the Great, who ordained by law that princes and chief commanders should be committed unto the fire, though the common sort had the common grave-interment. So Starkatterus, that old hero, was burnt, and Ringo royally burnt the body of Harold the king slain by him. **¶** WHAT time this custom generally expired in that nation we discern no assured period; whether it ceased before Christianity, or upon their conversion by Ansgarius the Gaul, in the time of Ludovicus Pius the son of Charles the Great according to good computes; or whether it might not be used by some persons, while for an hundred and eighty years paganism and Christianity were promiscuously embraced among them there is no assured conclusion. About which times the Danes were busy in England, and particularly infested this country, where many castles & strongholds were built by them, or against them, and great number of names and families still derived from them. But since this custom was probably disused before their invasion or conquest, and the Romans confessedly practised the same since their possession of this island, the most assured account

will fall upon the Romans or Britons Romanized. **¶** HOWEVER, certain it is that urns conceived of no Roman original are often digged up both in Norway and Denmark, handsomely described and graphically represented by the learned physician Wormius. And in some parts of Denmark in no ordinary number, as stands delivered by authors exactly describing those countries. And they contained not only bones but many other substances in them, as knives, pieces of iron, brass, and wood, and one of Norway a brass gilded jew's-harp. **¶** NOR were they confused or careless in disposing the noblest sort, while they placed large stones in circle about the urns or bodies which they interred, somewhat answerable unto the monument of Rollrich stones in England, or sepulchral monument probably erected by Rollo, who after conquered Normandy, where 'tis not improbable somewhat might be discovered. Meanwhile to what nation or person belonged that large urn found at Ashbury containing mighty bones and a buckler, what those large urns found

at Little Massingham, or why the Anglesea
urns are placed with their mouths
downward, remains yet
undiscovered.

III.

LAISTERED AND WHITED SEPULCHRES WERE
anciently affected in cadaverous & corrupted burials; and the
rigid Jews were wont to garnish the sepulchres of the right-
eous. Ulysses, in *Hecuba*, cared not how meanly he lived, so he
might find a noble tomb after death. Great princes affected great
monuments; and the fair and larger urns contained no vulgar ashes,
which makes that disparity in those which time discovereth among us.
The present urns were not of one capacity, the largest containing above
a gallon, some not much above half that measure; not all of one figure,
wherein there is no strict conformity in the same or different countries,
observable from those represented by Casalius, Bosio, & others, though
all found in Italy; while many have handles, ears, & long necks, but most
imitate a circular figure, in a spherical and round composure; whether
from any mystery, best duration, or capacity, were but a conjecture. But
the common form with necks was a proper figure, making our last bed
like our first; nor much unlike the urns of our nativity while we lay in the
nether part of the earth and inward vault of our microcosm. Many urns
are red, these but of a black colour, somewhat smooth, & dully sounding,
which begat some doubt whether they were burnt or only baked in oven
or sun, according to the ancient way in many bricks, tiles, pots, & testa-
ceous works; and, as the word *testa* is properly to be taken when occurring
without addition and chiefly intended by Pliny, when he commendeth
bricks & tiles of two years old & to make them in the spring. Nor only
these concealed pieces, but the open magnificence of antiquity, ran much
in the artifice of clay. Hereof the house of Mausolus was built; thus old
Jupiter stood in the Capitol, & the *statua* of Hercules made in the reign
of Tarquinius Priscus was extant in Pliny's days. And such as declined
burning or funeral urns affected coffins of clay, according to the mode of
Pythagoras and way preferred by Varro. But the spirit of great ones was
above these circumscriptions, affecting copper, silver, gold, & porphyry
urns, wherein Severus lay, after a serious view & sentence on that which
should contain him. Some of these urns were thought to have been sil-
vered over, from sparklings in several pots, with small tinsel parcels, un-
certain whether from the earth or the first mixture in them. ¶ AMONG

these urns we could obtain no good account of their coverings; only one seemed arched over with some kind of brick-work. Of those found at Buxton, some were covered with flints, some, in other parts, with tiles; those at Yarmouth Caster were closed with Roman bricks, & some have proper earthen covers adapted and fitted to them. But in the Homerical urn of Patroclus, whatever was the solid tegument, we find the immediate covering to be a purple piece of silk; & such as had no covers might have the earth closely pressed into them, after which disposure were probably some of these, wherein we found the bones and ashes half mortared unto the sand and sides of the urn, and some long roots of quich, or dog's-grass, wreathed about the bones. **¶** NO lamps, included liquors, lacrymatories or tear-bottles, attended these rural urns, either as sacred unto the *manes* or passionate expressions of their surviving friends. While with rich flames and hired tears they solemnized their obsequies, and in the most lamented monuments made one part of their inscriptions. Some find sepulchral vessels containing liquors, which time hath incrassated into jellies. For, besides these lacrymatories, notable lamps, with vessels of oils, and aromatic liquors, attended noble ossuaries, and some yet retaining a vinosity & spirit in them, which if any have tasted, they have far exceeded the palates of antiquity. Liquors not to be computed by years of annual magistrates but by great conjunctions and the fatal periods of kingdoms. The draughts of consulary date were but crude unto these, & Opimian wine but in the must unto them. **¶** IN sundry graves & sepulchres we meet with rings, coins, and chalices. Ancient frugality was so severe that they allowed no gold to attend the corpse, but only that which served to fasten their teeth. Whether the opaline stone in this were burnt upon the finger of the dead, or cast into the fire by some affectionate friend, it will consist with either custom. But other incinerable substances were found so fresh that they could feel no singe from fire. These upon view were judged to be wood; but, sinking in water and tried by the fire, we found them to be bone or ivory. In their hardness & yellow colour they most resembled box, which in old expressions found the epithet of eternal, and perhaps in such conservatories might have passed uncorrupted. **¶** THAT bay leaves were found green in the tomb of S. Humbert after

an hundred and fifty years was looked upon as miraculous. Remarkable it was unto old spectators that the cypress of the temple of Diana lasted so many hundred years. The wood of the ark, and olive-rod of Aaron, were older at the Captivity; but the cypress of the ark of Noah was the greatest vegetable of antiquity, if Josephus were not deceived by some fragments of it in his days: to omit the moor-logs & fir-trees found underground in many parts of England; the undated ruins of winds, floods, or earthquakes, & which in Flanders still show from what quarter they fell, as generally lying in a north-east position. *¶* BUT though we found not these pieces to be wood, according to first apprehensions, yet we missed not altogether of some woody substance; for the bones were not so clearly picked but some coals were found amongst them: a way to make wood perpetual, and a fit associate for metal, whereon was laid the foundation of the great Ephesian temple, & which were made the lasting tests of old boundaries & landmarks. Whilst we look on these, we admire not observations of coals found fresh after four hundred years. In a long-deserted habitation even egg-shells have been found fresh, not tending to corruption. *¶* IN the monument of King Childerick the iron relics were found all rusty and crumbling into pieces; but our little iron pins which fastened the ivory works held well together, & lost not their magnetical quality, though wanting a tenacious moisture for the firmer union of parts; although it be hardly drawn into fusion, yet that metal soon submitteth unto rust and dissolution. In the brazen pieces we admired not the duration but the freedom from rust and ill-savour upon the hardest attrition; but, now exposed unto the piercing atoms of air, in the space of a few months they begin to spot and betray their green entrails. We conceive not these urns to have descended thus naked as they appear, or to have entered their graves without the old habit of flowers. The urn of Philopœmen was so laden with flowers and ribbons that it afforded no sight of itself. The rigid Lycurgus allowed olive & myrtle. The Athenians might fairly except against the practice of Democritus to be buried up in honey, as fearing to embezzle a great commodity of their country and the best of that kind in Europe. But Plato seemed too frugally politick, who allowed no larger monument than would contain four heroick

verses, and designed the most barren ground for sepulture; though we cannot commend the goodness of that sepulchral ground which was set at no higher rate than the mean salary of Judas. Though the earth had confounded the ashes of these ossuaries, yet the bones were so smartly burnt that some thin plates of brass were found half melted among them. Whereby we apprehend they were not of the meanest carcases, perfusorily fired as sometimes in military & commonly in pestilence burnings, or, after the manner of abject corpses, huddled forth and carelessly burnt without the Esquiline Port at Rome, which was an affront continued upon Tiberius, while they but halfburnt his body, & in the amphitheatre according to the custom in notable malefactors; whereas Nero seemed not so much to fear his death as that his head should be cut off & his body not burnt entire. **¶** SOME, finding many fragments of skulls in these urns, suspected a mixture of bones; in none we searched was there cause of such conjecture, though sometimes they declined not that practice. The ashes of Domitian were mingled with those of Julia; of Achilles with those of Patroclus. All urns contained not single ashes: without confused burnings they affectionately compounded their bones, passionately endeavouring to continue their living unions. And, when distance of death denied such conjunctions, unsatisfied affections conceived some satisfaction to be neighbours in the grave, to lie urn by nrn, & touch but in their names. And many were so curious to continue their living relations that they contrived large and family urns, wherein the ashes of their nearest friends and kindred might successively be received, at least some parcels thereof, while their collateral memorials lay in minor vessels about them.

¶ ANTIQUITY held too light thoughts from objects of mortality, while some drew provocatives of mirth from anatomies, and jugglers showed tricks with skeletons, when fiddlers made not so pleasant mirth as fencers, and men could sit with quiet stomachs while hanging was played before them. Old considerations made few mementoes by skulls & bones upon their monuments. In the Egyptian obelisks & hieroglyphical figures it is not easy to meet with bones. The sepulchral lampsspeak nothing less than sepulture, and in their literal draughts prove often obscene and antick pieces. Where we find *D.M.* it is obvious to meet with sacrificing

d

pateras and vessels of libation upon old sepulchral monuments. In the Jewish hypogæum & subterranean cell at Rome was little observable beside the variety of lamps and frequent draughts of the holy candlestick. In authentic draughts of Anthony & Jerome we meet with thigh-bones & death's-heads; but the cemeterial cells of ancient Christians & martyrs were filled with draughts of Scripture stories, not declining the flourishes of cypress, palms, and olive, and the mystical figures of peacocks, doves, and cocks, but iterately affecting the portraits of Enoch, Lazarus, Jonas, and the vision of Ezekiel, as hopeful draughts, and hinting imagery of the resurrection, which is the life of the grave & sweetens our habitation in the land of moles and pismires. **¶** GENTILE inscriptions precisely delivered the extent of men's lives, seldom the manner of their deaths, which history itself so often leaves obscure in the records of memorable persons. There is scarce any philosopher but dies twice or thrice in Laertius; nor almost any life without two or three deaths in Plutarch; which makes the tragical ends of noble persons more favourably resented by compassionate readers who find some relief in the election of such differences.

¶ THE certainty of death is attended with uncertainties, in time, manner, places. The variety of monuments hath often obscured true graves, and cenotaphs confounded sepulchres. For beside their real tombs many have found honorary & empty sepulchres. The variety of Homer's monuments made him of various countries. Euripides had his tomb in Attica, but his sepulture in Macedonia. And Severus found his real sepulchre in Rome, but his empty grave in Gallia. **¶** HE that lay in a golden urn eminently above the earth was not like to find the quiet of his bones. Many of these urns were broke by a vulgar discoverer in hope of enclosed treasure. The ashes of Marcellus were lost above ground upon the like account. Where profit hath prompted, no age hath wanted such miners, for which the most barbarous expilators found the most civil rhetorick. Gold once out of the earth is no more due unto it; what was unreasonably committed to the ground, is reasonably resumed from it; let monuments & rich fabrics, not riches, adorn men's ashes; the commerce of the living is not to be transferred unto the dead; it is not injustice to take that which none complains to lose, and no man is wronged where no man is possessor. **¶**

WHAT virtue yet sleeps in this *terra damnata* & aged cinders were petty magick to experiment. These crumbling relics & long-fired particles superannuate such expectations; bones, hairs, nails, & teeth of the dead were the treasures of old sorcerers. In vain we revive such practices; present superstition too visibly perpetuates the folly of our forefathers, wherein unto old observation this island was so complete that it might have instructed Persia.  PLATO'S historian of the other world lies twelve days incorrupted, while his soul was viewing the large stations of the dead. How to keep the corpse seven days from corruption by anointing and washing, without exenteration, were an hazardous piece of art in our choicest practice. How they made distinct separation of bones & ashes from fiery admixture hath found no historical solution; though they seemed to make a distinct collection, & overlooked not Phyrrhus his toe. Some provision they might make by fictile vessels, coverings, tiles, or flat stones, upon and about the body (and in the same field not far from these urns many stones were found underground), as also by careful separation of extraneous matter, composing and raking up the burnt bones with forks, observable in that notable lamp of Galvanus. Marlianus, who had the sight of the *vas ustrinam*, or vessel wherein they burnt the dead, found in the Esquiline field at Rome, might have afforded clearer solution. But their insatisfaction herein begat that remarkable invention in the funeral pyres of some princes, by incombustible sheets made with a texture of asbestos, incremable flax, or salamander's wool, which preserved their bones and ashes incommixed.  HOW the bulk of a man should sink into so few pounds of bones & ashes may seem strange unto any who considers not its constitution & how slender a mass will remain upon an open & urging fire of the carnal composition. Even bones themselves reduced into ashes do abate a notable proportion. And, consisting much of a volatile salt, when that is fired out make a light kind of cinders. Although their bulk be disproportional to their weight, when the heavy principle of salt is fired out and the earth almost only remaineth—observable in sallow, which makes more ashes than oak and discovers the common fraud of selling ashes by measure and not by ponderation.

 SOME bones make best skeletons, some bodies quick and speediest

ashes. Who would expect a quick flame from hydropical Heraclitus? The poisoned soldier, when his belly brake, put out two pyres in Plutarch. But in the plague of Athens one private pyre served two or three intruders; and the Saracens burnt in large heaps by the king of Castile showed how little fuel sufficeth. Though the funeral pyre of Patroclus took up an hundred foot, a piece of an old boat burned Pompey; and, if the burden of Isaac were sufficient for an holocaust, a man may carry his own pyre. **¶** FROM animals are drawn good burning lights and good medicines against burning. Though the seminal humour seems of a contrary nature to fire, yet the body completed proves a combustible lump, wherein fire finds flame even from bones and some fuel almost from all parts, though the metropolis of humidity seems least disposed unto it, which might render the skulls of these urns less burned than other bones. But all flies or sinks before fire almost in all bodies: when the common ligament is dissolved, the attenuable parts ascend, the rest subside in coal, calx, or ashes. **¶** TO burn the bones of the king of Edom for lime seems no irrational ferity; but to drink of the ashes of dead relations a passionate prodigality. He that hath the ashes of his friend hath an everlasting treasure; where fire taketh leave, corruption slowly enters. In bones well burnt fire makes a wall against itself; experimented in Copels & tests of metals which consist of such ingredients. What the sun compoundeth fire analyzeth, not transmuteth. That devouring agent leaves almost always a morsel for the earth, whereof all things are but a colony, & which, if time permits, the mother element will have in their primitive mass again. **¶** HE that looks for urns and old sepulchral relics must not seek them in the ruins of temples, where no religion anciently placed them. These were found in a field, according to ancient custom, in noble or private burial; the old practice of the Canaanites, the family of Abraham, and the burying-place of Joshua, in the borders of his possessions; and also agreeable unto Roman practice to bury by highways, whereby their monuments were under eye—memorials of themselves and mementoes of mortality unto living passengers, whom the epitaphs of great ones were fain to beg to stay and look upon them, a language, though sometimes used, not so proper in church inscriptions. The sensible rhetorick

of the dead, to exemplarity of good life, first admitted the bones of pious men and martyrs within church-walls, which in succeeding ages crept into promiscuous practice, while Constantine was peculiarly favoured to be admitted into the church-porch, and the first thus buried in England was in the days of Cuthred. **¶** CHRISTIANS dispute how their bodies should lie in the grave. In urnal interment they clearly escaped this controversy. Though we decline the religious consideration, yet in cemeterial & narrower burying-places to avoid confusion & cross-position a certain posture were to be admitted, which even pagan civility observed. The Persians lay north and south; the Megarians and Phœnicians placed their heads to the east; the Athenians, some think, towards the west, which Christians still retain. And Beda will have it to be the posture of our Saviour. That he was crucified with his face towards the west we will not contend with tradition & probable account; but we applaud not the hand of the painter in exalting his cross so high above those on either side, since hereof we find no authentic account in history, and even the crosses found by Helena pretend no such distinction from longitude or dimension. **¶** TO be knav'd out of our graves, to have our skulls made drinking-bowls, & our bones turned into pipes, to delight & sport our enemies, are tragical abominations escaped in burning burials. **¶** URNAL interments and burnt relics lie not in fear of worms or to be an heritage for serpents. In carnal sepulture corruptions seem peculiar unto parts, & some speak of snakes out of the spinal marrow. But, while we suppose common worms in graves, 'tis not easy to find any there; few in church-yards above a foot deep, fewer or none in churches, though in fresh decayed bodies. Teeth, bones, and hair give the most lasting defiance to corruption. In an hydropical body ten years buried in the churchyard we met with a fat concretion; where the nitre of the earth and the salt and lixivious liquor of the body had coagulated large lumps of fat into the consistence of the hardest Castile soap, whereof part remaineth with us. After a battle with the Persians the Roman corpses decayed in few days, while the Persian bodies remained dry and uncorrupted. Bodies in the same ground do not uniformly dissolve, nor bones equally moulder; whereof in the opprobrious disease we expect no long duration. The body of the

Marquis of Dorset seemed sound & handsomely cere-clothed that after seventy-eight years was found uncorrupted. Common tombs preserve not beyond powder; a firmer consistence and compage of parts might be expected from arefaction, deep burial, or charcoal. The greatest antiquities of mortal bodies may remain in putrefied bones, whereof, though we take not in the pillar of Lot's wife or metamorphosis of Ortelius, some may be older than pyramids, in the putrefied relics of the general inundation. When Alexander opened the tomb of Cyrus, the remaining bones discovered his proportion, whereof urnal fragments afford but a bad conjecture, and have this disadvantage of grave interments that they leave us ignorant of most personal discoveries. For, since bones afford not only rectitude & stability but figure unto the body, it is no impossible physiognomy to conjecture at fleshy appendencies & after what shape the muscles and carious parts might hang in their full consistencies. A full-spread *cariola* shows a well-shaped horse behind; handsome-formed skulls give some analogy to fleshy resemblance. A critical view of bones makes a good distinction of sexes. Even colour is not beyond conjecture, since it is hard to be deceived in the distinction of the Negroes' skulls. Dante's characters are to be found in skulls as well as faces. Hercules is not only known by his foot. Other parts make out their comproportions & inferences upon whole or parts. And, since the dimensions of the head measure the whole body, and the figure thereof gives conjecture of the principal faculties, physiognomy outlives ourselves & ends not in our graves. ~~¶~~ SEVERE contemplators observing these lasting relics may think them good monuments of persons past, little advantage to future beings; and, considering that power which subdueth all things unto itself, that can resume the scattered atoms or identify out of anything, conceive it superfluous to expect a resurrection out of relics; but, the soul subsisting, other matter clothed with due accidents may salve the individuality. Yet the saints, we observe, arose from graves & monuments about the holy city. Some think the ancient patriarchs so earnestly desired to lay their bones in Canaan as hoping to make a part of that resurrection, and, though thirty miles from Mount Calvary, at least to lie in that region which should produce the first-fruits of the dead. And if, according to learned conjecture, the bodies of men

shall rise where their greatest relics remain, many are not likely to err
in the topography of their resurrection, though their bones or bodies be
after translated by angels into the field of Ezekiel's vision,
or, as some will order it, into the
valley of judgment or
Jehosaphat.

IV.

CHRISTIANS HAVE HANDSOMELY GLOSSED the deformity of death by careful consideration of the body, & civil rights which take off brutal terminations; &, though they conceived all reparable by a resurrection, cast not off all care of interment. And since the ashes of sacrifices burnt upon the altar of God were carefully carried out by the priests and deposited in a clean field; since they acknowledged their bodies to be the lodging of Christ, and temples of the Holy Ghost, they devolved not all upon the sufficiency of soul-existence; and therefore with long services & full solemnities concluded their last exequies, wherein to all distinctions the Greek devotion seems most pathetically ceremonious. ¶
CHRISTIAN invention hath chiefly driven at rites which speak hopes of another life & hints of a resurrection. And if the ancient Gentiles held not the immortality of their better part and some subsistence after death, in several rights, customs, actions, & expressions, they contradicted their own opinions; wherein Democritus went high, even to the thought of a resurrection, as scoffingly recorded by Pliny. What can be more express than the expression of Phocylides? Or who would expect from Lucretius a sentence of Ecclesiastes? Before Plato could speak, the soul had wings in Homer, which fell not, but flew out of the body into the mansions of the dead; who also observed that handsome distinction of Demas and Soma, for the body conjoined to the soul, & body separated from it. Lucian spoke much truth in jest when he said that part of Hercules which proceeded from Alcmena perished, that from Jupiter remained immortal. Thus Socrates was content that his friends should bury his body, so they would not think they buried Socrates; and, regarding only his immortal part, was indifferent to be burnt or buried. From such considerations Diogenes might contemn sepulture, &, being satisfied that the soul could not perish, grew careless of corporal interment. The Stoicks, who thought the souls of wise men had their habitation about the moon, might make slight account of subterraneous deposition; whereas the Pythagoreans & trans-corporating philosophers, who were to be often buried, held great care of their interment. And the Platonicks rejected not a due care of the grave, though they put their ashes to unreasonable expectations in their tedious

term of return and long set revolution. **¶** MEN have lost their reason in nothing so much as their religion, wherein stones and clouts make martyrs; and, since the religion of one seems madness unto another, to afford an account or rational of old rights requires no rigid reader. That they kindled the pyre aversely, or turning their face from it, was an handsome symbol of unwilling ministrations. That they washed their bones with wine and milk; that the mother wrapped them in linen, and dried them in her bosom, the first fostering part and place of their nourishment; that they opened their eyes towards heaven before they kindled the fire, as the place of their hopes or original, were no improper ceremonies. Their last valediction, thrice uttered by the attendants, was also very solemn, and somewhat answered by Christians, who thought it too little if they threw not the earth thrice upon the interred body. That in strewing their tombs the Romans affected the rose, the Greeks amaranthus & myrtle; that the funeral pyre consisted of sweet fuel, cypress, fir, larix, yew and trees perpetually verdant, lay silent expressions of their surviving hope. Wherein Christians, who deck their coffins with bays, have found a more elegant emblem; for that tree, seeming dead, will restore itself from the root, & its dry & exsuccous leaves resume their verdure again, which, if we mistake not, we have also observed in furze. Whether the planting of yew in churchyards hold not its original from ancient funeral rites, or as an emblem of resurrection from its perpetual verdure, may also admit conjecture. **¶** THEY made use of musick to excite or quiet the affections of their friends, according to different harmonies. But the secret & symbolical hint was the harmonical nature of the soul, which, delivered from the body, went again to enjoy the primitive harmony of Heaven, from whence it first descended; which, according to its progress traced by antiquity, came down by Cancer & ascended by Capricornus. **¶** THEY burnt not children before their teeth appeared, as apprehending their bodies too tender a morsel for fire & that their gristly bones would scarce leave separable relics after the pyral combustion. That they kindled not fire in their houses for some days after was a strict memorial of the late afflicting fire. And, mourning without hope, they had an happy fraud against excessive lamentation, by a common opinion that deep sorrows

disturb their ghosts. ⚭ THAT they buried their dead on their backs, or in a supine position, seems agreeable unto profound sleep and common posture of dying, contrary to the most natural way of birth, not unlike our pendulous posture in the doubtful state of the womb. Diogenes was singular who preferred a prone situation in the grave; and some Christians like neither who decline the figure of rest and make choice of an erect posture. ⚭ THAT they carried them out of the world with their feet forward, not inconsonant unto reason, as contrary unto the native posture of man and his production first into it, & also agreeable unto their opinions, whilst they bid adieu unto the world, not to look again upon it, whereas Mahometans, who think to return to a delightful life again, are carried forth with their heads forward & looking towards their houses. ⚭ THEY closed their eyes, as parts which first die or first discover the sad effects of death. But their iterated clamations to excitate their dying or dead friends, or revoke them unto life again, was a vanity of affection, as not presum-ably ignorant of the critical tests of death, by apposition of feathers, glasses, and reflection of figures, which dead eyes represent not; which how-ever, not strictly verifiable in fresh and warm cadavers, could hardly elude the test in corpses of four or five days. ⚭ THAT they sucked in the last breath of their expiring friends was surely a practice of no medical in-stitution, but a loose opinion that the soul passed out that way, & a fond-ness of affection, from some Pythagorical foundation that the spirit of one body passed into another which they wished might be their own.

⚡ THAT they poured oil upon the pyre was a tolerable practice, while the intention rested in facilitating the accension. But to place good omens in the quick & speedy burning, to sacrifice unto the winds for a dispatch in this office, was a low form of superstition. ⚭ THE archimime, or jes-ter, attending the funeral train, and imitating the speeches, gesture, and manners of the deceased, was too light for such solemnities, contradicting their funeral orations & doleful rites of the grave. ⚭ THAT they buried a piece of money with them as a fee of the Elysian ferryman was a prac-tice full of folly. But the ancient custom of placing coins in considerable urns, and the present practice of burying medals in the noble foundations of Europe, are laudable ways of historical discoveries, in actions, persons,

chronologies; and posterity will applaud them. **¶** WE examine not the old laws of sepulture, exempting certain persons from burial or burning. But hereby we apprehend that these were not the bones of persons planet-struck or burnt with fire from heaven, no relics of traitors to their country, self-killers, or sacrilegious malefactors, persons in old apprehension unworthy of the earth, condemned unto the Tartarus of hell & bottomless pit of Pluto, from whence there was no redemption. **¶** NOR were only many customs questionable in order to their obsequies, but also sundry practices, fictions, and conceptions, discordant or obscure, of their state & future beings. Whether unto eight or ten bodies of men to add one of a woman, as being more inflammable & unctuously constituted for the better pyral combustion, were any rational practice; or whether the complaint of Periander's wife will be tolerable, that, wanting her funeral burning, she suffered intolerable cold in hell, according to the constitution of the infernal house of Pluto, wherein cold makes a great part of their tortures, it cannot pass without some question. **¶** WHY the female ghosts appear unto Ulysses, before the heroes and masculine spirits—why the Psyche or soul of Tiresias is of the masculine gender, who, being blind on earth, sees more than all the rest in hell; why the funeral suppers consisted of eggs, beans, smallage, and lettuce, since the dead are made to eat asphodels about the Elysian meadows—why, since there is no sacrifice acceptable nor any propitiation for the covenant of the grave, men set up the deity of Morta, and fruitlessly adored divinities without ears, it cannot escape some doubt. **¶** THE dead seem all alive in the human Hades of Homer, yet cannot well speak, prophesy, or know the living, except they drink blood, wherein is the life of man. And therefore the souls of Penelope's paramours, conducted by Mercury, chirped like bats, & those which followed Hercules made a noise but like a flock of birds. **¶** THE departed spirits know things past & to come, yet are ignorant of things present. Agamemnon foretells what should happen unto Ulysses, yet ignorantly enquires what is become of his own son. The ghosts are afraid of swords in Homer; yet Sibylla tells Æneas in Virgil, the thin habit of spirits was beyond the force of weapons. The spirits put off their malice with their bodies, and Cæsar and Pompey accord in Latin hell; yet Ajax,

in Homer, endures not a conference with Ulysses; & Deiphobus appears all mangled in Virgil's ghosts, yet we meet with perfect shadows among the wounded ghosts of Homer. **¶** SINCE Charon in Lucian applauds his condition among the dead, whether it behandsomely said of Achilles, that living contemner of death, that he had rather be a ploughman's servant than emperor of the dead? How Hercules his soul is in hell, & yet in heaven; & Julius his soul in a star, yet seen by Æneas in hell?—except the ghosts were but images and shadows of the soul, received in higher mansions, according to the ancient division of body, soul, and image, or *simulachrum*, of them both. The particulars of future beings must needs be dark unto ancient theories, which Christian philosophy yet determines but in a cloud of opinions. A dialogue between two infants in the womb concerning the state of this world might handsomely illustrate our ignorance of the next, whereof methinks we yet discourse in Pluto's den and are but embryon philosophers. **¶** PYTHAGORAS escapes in the fabulous hell of Dante among that swarm of philosophers wherein, whilst we meet with Plato & Socrates, Cato is to be found in no lower place than Purgatory. Among all the set, Epicurus is most considerable, whom men make honest without an Elysium, who contemned life without encouragement of immortality, and, making nothing after death, yet made nothing of the King of Terrors. **¶** WERE the happiness of the next world as closely apprehended as the felicities of this, it were a martyrdom to live; and unto such as consider none hereafter it must be more than death to die, which makes us amazed at those audacities that durst be nothing and return into their chaos again. Certainly such spirits as could contemn death, when they expected no better being after, would have scorned to live had they known any. And therefore we applaud not the judgment of Machiavel that Christianity makes men cowards, or that with the confidence of but half-dying the despised virtues of patience and humility have abased the spirits of men, which pagan principles exalted; but rather regulated the wildness of audacities, in the attempts, grounds, & eternal sequels of death, wherein men of the boldest spirits are often prodigiously temerarious. Nor can we extenuate the valour of ancient martyrs, who contemned death in the uncomfortable scene of their lives, and in their

decrepit martyrdoms did probably lose not many months of their days, or parted with life when it was scarce worth the living. For (beside that long time past holds no consideration unto a slender time to come) they had no small disadvantage from the constitution of old age, which naturally makes men fearful, complexionally superannuated from the bold & courageous thoughts of youth and fervent years. But the contempt of death from corporal animosity promoteth not our felicity. They may sit in the orchestra & noblest seats of heaven who have held up shaking hands in the fire and humanly contended for glory. **¶** MEANWHILE Epicurus lies deep in Dante's hell, wherein we meet with tombs enclosing souls which denied their immortalities. But whether the virtuous heathen, who lived better than he spake, or erring in the principles of himself yet lived above philosophers of more specious maxims, lie so deep as he is placed, at least so low as not to rise against Christians who believing or knowing that truth have lastingly denied it in their practice and conversation—were a query too sad to insist on. **¶** BUT all or most apprehensions rested in opinions of some future being, which, ignorantly or coldly believed, begat those perverted conceptions, ceremonies, sayings, which Christians pity or laugh at. Happy are they which live not in that disadvantage of time when men could say little for futurity but from reason: whereby the noblest minds fell often upon doubtful deaths & melancholy dissolutions. With these hopes Socrates warned his doubtful spirits against that cold potion, & Cato, before he durst give the fatal stroke, spent part of the night in reading the Immortality of Plato, thereby confirming his wavering hand unto the animosity of that attempt. **¶** IT is the heaviest stone that melancholy can throw at a man, to tell him he is at the end of his nature; or that there is no further state to come, unto which this seems progressive & otherwise made in vain. Without this accomplishment the natural expectation and desire of such a state were but a fallacy in nature; unsatisfied considerators would quarrel the justice of their constitutions, and rest content that Adam had fallen lower; whereby, by knowing no other original & deeper ignorance of themselves, they might have enjoyed the happiness of inferior creatures, who in tranquillity possess their constitutions, as having not the apprehension to deplore their own natures,

and, being framed below the circumference of these hopes, or cognition
of better being, the wisdom of God hath necessitated their contentment;
but the superior ingredient and obscured part of ourselves, whereto all
present felicities afford no resting contentment, will be able
at last to tell us we are more than our present selves,
& evacuate such hopes in the fruition
of their own accomplish-
ments.

V.

f

NOW SINCE THESE DEAD BONES HAVE ALREADY outlasted the living ones of Methusaleh, and in a yard underground & thin walls of clay outworn all the strong & specious buildings above it; & quietly rested under the drums and tramplings of three conquests, what prince can promise such diurnity unto his relics, or might not gladly say **SIC EGO COMPONI VERSUS IN OSSA VELIM?** Time, which antiquates antiquities, & hath an art to make dust of all things, hath yet spared these minor monuments. **¶** IN vain we hope to be known by open & visible conservatories, when to be unknown was the means of their continuation, & obscurity their protection. If they died by violent hands & were thrust into their urns, these bones become considerable, and some old philosophers would honour them, whose souls they conceived most pure which were thussnatched from their bodies, & to retain a stronger propension unto them; whereas they weariedly left a languishing corpse & with faint desires of re-union. If they fell by long & aged decay yet wrapt up in the bundle of time, they fall into indistinction, & make but one blot with infants. If we begin to die when we live, & long life be but a prolongation of death, our life is a sad composition: we live with death, & die not in a moment. How many pulses made up the life of Methusaleh were work for Archimedes: common counters sum up the life of Moses his man. Our days become considerable, like petty sums, by minute accumulations, where numerous fractions make up but small round numbers, & our days of a span long make not one little-finger. **¶** IF the nearness of our last necessity brought anearer conformity into it, there were a happiness in hoary hairs & no calamity in half-senses. But the long habit of living indisposeth us for dying; when avarice makes us the sport of death, when even David grew politickly cruel, and Solomon could hardly be said to be the wisest of men. But many are too early old and before the date of age. Adversity stretcheth our days, misery makes Alcmena's nights, and time hath no wings unto it. But the most tedious being is that which can unwish itself, content to be nothing or never to have been, which was beyond the mal-content of Job, who cursed not the day of his life but his nativity; content to have so far been as to have a title to future being, although he had lived

here but in an hidden state of life and as it were an abortion. *¶* WHAT song the Syrens sang, or what name Achilles assumed when he hid himself among women, though puzzling questions, are not beyond all conjecture. What time the persons of these ossuaries entered the famous nations of the dead and slept with princes and counsellors might admit a wide solution. But who were the proprietaries of these bones, or what bodies these ashes made up, were a question above antiquarism, not to be resolved by man, nor easily perhaps by spirits, except we consult the provincial guardians or tutelary observators. Had they made as good provision for their names as they have done for their relics, they had not so grossly erred in the art of perpetuation. But to subsist in bones, and be but pyramidally extant, is a fallacy in duration: vain ashes which in the oblivion of names, persons, times, & sexes, have found unto themselves a fruitless continuation, and only arise unto late posterity as emblems of mortal vanities, antidotes against pride, vainglory, and madding vices. Pagan vainglories which thought the world might last for ever had encouragement for ambition; and finding no *Atropos* unto the immortality of their names, were never damp't with the necessity of oblivion. Even old ambitions had the advantage of ours in the attempts of their vainglories, who, acting early & before the probable meridian of time, have by this time found great accomplishment of their designs, whereby the ancient heroes have already outlasted their monuments & mechanical preservations. But in this latter scene of time we cannot expect such mummies unto our memories, when ambition may fear the prophecy of Elias, and Charles the Fifth can never hope to live within two Methuselahs of Hector. *¶* AND therefore restless unquiet for the diuturnity of our memories unto the present considerations seems a vanity almost out of date & superannuated piece of folly. We cannot hope to live so long in our names as some have done in their persons. One face of Janus holds no proportion unto the other. 'Tis too late to be ambitious. The great mutations of the world are acted, or time may be too short for our designs. To extend our memories by monuments, whose death we daily pray for & whose duration we cannot hope without injury to our expectations in the advent of the last day, were a contradiction to our beliefs. We whose generations are ordained in this setting part

of time are providentially taken off from such imaginations; and, being necessitated to eye the remaining particle of futurity, are naturally constituted unto thoughts of the next world, and cannot excusably decline the consideration of that duration which maketh pyramids pillars of snow and all that's past a moment. **¶** CIRCLES and right lines limit and close all bodies, and the mortal right-lined circle must conclude and shut up all. There is no antidote against the opium of time, which temporally considereth all things; our fathers find their graves in our short memories, & sadly tell us how we may be buried in our survivors. Grave-stones tell truth scarce forty years. Generations pass while some trees stand, and old families last not three oaks. To be read by bare inscriptions like many in Gruter, to hope for eternity by enigmatical epithets or first letters of our names, to be studied by antiquaries who we were, and have new names given us like many of the mummies, are cold consolations unto the students of perpetuity, even by everlasting languages. **¶** TO be content that times to come should only know there was such a man, not caring whether they knew more of him, was a frigid ambition in Cardan, disparaging his horoscopical inclination and judgment of himself. Who cares to subsist like Hippocrates' patients, or Achilles' horses in Homer, under naked nominations, without deserts and noble acts, which are the balsam of our memories, the *entelecheia* & soul of our subsistencies? To be nameless in worthy deeds exceeds an infamous history. The Canaanitish woman lives more happily without a name than Herodias with one. And who had not rather have been the good thief than Pilate? **¶** BUT the iniquity of oblivion blindly scattereth her poppy, & deals with the memory of men without distinction to merit of perpetuity. Who can but pity the founder of the pyramids? Herostratus lives that burnt the temple of Diana; he is almost lost that built it. Time hath spared the epitaph of Adrian's horse; confounded that of himself. In vain we compute our felicities by the advantage of our good names, since bad have equal durations, & Thersites is like to live as long as Agamemnon. Who knows whether the best of men be known, or whether there be not more remarkable persons forgot, than any that stand remembered in the known account of time? Without the favour of the everlasting register the first man had been as unknown as

the last, & Methuselah's long life had been his only chronicle. **OBLIVION** is not to be hired. The greater part must be content to be as though they had not been, to be found in the register of God, not in the record of man. Twenty-seven names make up the first story, and the recorded names ever since contain not one living century. The number of the dead long exceedeth all that shall live. The night of time far surpasseth the day, & who knows when was the equinox. Every hour adds unto that current arithmetick which scarce stands one moment. And since death must be the *Lucina* of life, & even pagans could doubt whether thus to live were to die; since our longest sun sets at right descensions, & makes but winter arches, & therefore it cannot be long before we lie down in darkness and have our light in ashes; since the brother of death daily haunts us with dying mementoes, and time that grows old in itself bids us hope no long duration—diuturnity is a dream & folly of expectation. **DARKNESS** & light divide the course of time, & oblivion shares with memory a great part even of our living beings: we slightly remember our felicities, & the smartest strokes of affliction leave but short smart upon us. Sense endureth no extremities, & sorrows destroy us or themselves. To weep into stones are fables. Afflictions induce callosities; miseries are slippery, or fall like snow upon us, which notwithstanding is no unhappy stupidity. To be ignorant of evils to come & forgetful of evils past is a merciful provision in nature, whereby we digest the mixture of our few & evil days, and, our delivered senses not relapsing into cutting remembrances, our sorrows are not kept raw by the edge of repetitions. A great part of antiquity contented their hopes of subsistency with a transmigration of their souls—a good way to continue their memories, while having the advantage of plural successions they could not but act something remarkable in such variety of beings, and, enjoying the fame of their passed selves, make accumulation of glory unto their last durations. Others, rather than be lost in the uncomfortable night of nothing, were content to recede into the common being, and make one particle of the public soul of all things, which was no more than to return into their unknown & divine original again. Egyptian ingenuity was more unsatisfied, contriving their bodies in sweet consistencies, to attend the return of their souls. But all is vanity, feeding the

wind, & folly. Egyptian mummies which Cambyses or time hath spared avarice now consumeth. Mummy is become merchandise, Mizraim cures wounds, and Pharaoh is sold for balsams. *¶* IN vain do individuals hope for immortality, or any patent from oblivion, in preservations below the moon; men have been deceived even in their flatteries above the sun, and studied conceits to perpetuate their names in heaven. The various cosmography of that part hath already varied the names of contrived constellations: Nimrod is lost in Orion, and Osiris in the Dog-star. While we look for incorruption in the heavens, we find that they are but like the earth—durable in their main bodies, alterable in their parts; whereof, beside comets and new stars, perspectives begin to tell tales, and the spots that wander about the sun, with Phaeton's favour, would make clear conviction. *¶* THERE is nothing strictly immortal but immortality. Whatever hath no beginning may be confident of no end (all others have a dependent being and within the reach of destruction), which is the peculiar of that necessary Essence that cannot destroy itself; & the highest strain of omnipotency, to be so powerfully constituted as not to suffer even from the power of itself. But the sufficiency of Christian immortality frustrates all earthly glory, and the quality of either state after death makes a folly of posthumous memory. God, who can only destroy our souls & hath assured our resurrection, either of our bodies or names hath directly promised no duration. Wherein there is so much of chance that the boldest expectants have found unhappy frustration; and to hold long subsistence seems but a scape in oblivion. But man is a noble animal, splendid in ashes, and pompous in the grave, solemnizing nativities and deaths with equal lustre, nor omitting ceremonies of bravery in the infamy of his nature. *¶* LIFE is a pure flame, and we live by an invisible sun within us. A small fire sufficeth for life, great flames seemed too little after death, while men vainly affected precious pyres and to burn like Sardanapalus; but the wisdom of funeral laws found the folly of prodigal blazes, and reduced undoing fires unto the rule of sober obsequies, wherein few could be so mean as not to provide wood, pitch, a mourner, and an urn. *¶* FIVE languages secured not the epitaph of Gordianus. The man of God lives longer without a tomb than any by one, invisibly interred by angels and

adjudged to obscurity, though not without some marks directing human discovery. Enoch and Elias without either tomb or burial, in an anomalous state of being, are the great examples of perpetuity in their long and living memory, in strict account being still on this side death and having a late part yet to act upon this stage of earth. If in the decretory term of the world we shall not all die but be changed, according to received translation, the last day will make but few graves; at least quick resurrections will anticipate lasting sepultures. Some graves will be opened before they be quite closed, and Lazarus be no wonder. When many that feared to die shall groan that they can die but once, the dismal state is the second and living death, when life puts despair on the damned, when men shall wish the coverings of mountains not of monuments, and annihilations shall be courted. **¶** WHILE some have studied monuments, others have studiously declined them, and some have been so vainly boisterous that they durst not acknowledge their graves; wherein Alaricus seems most subtle, who had a river turned to hide his bones at the bottom. Even Sylla, that thought himself safe in his urn, could not prevent revenging tongues, & stones thrown at his monument. Happy are they whom privacy makes innocent, whom deal so with men in this world that they are not afraid to meet them in the next, who, when they die, make no commotion among the dead, & are not touched with that poetical taunt of Isaiah. **¶** PYRAMIDS, arches, obelisks, were but the irregularities of vainglory and wild enormities of ancient magnanimity. But the most magnanimous resolution rests in the Christian religion, which trampleth upon pride and sits on the neck of ambition, humbly pursuing that infallible perpetuity unto which all others must diminish their diameters & be poorly seen in angles of contingency. **¶** PIOUS spirits who passed their days in raptures of futurity made little more of this world than the world that was before it, while they lay obscure in the chaos of pre-ordination and night of their forebeings. And, if any have been so happy as truly to understand Christian annihilation, ecstacies, exolution, liquefaction, transformation, the kiss of the spouse, gustation of God, & ingress into the divine shadow, they have already had an handsome anticipation of heaven: the glory of the world is surely over, and the earth in ashes unto them. **¶** TO subsist

in lasting monuments, to live in their productions, to exist in their names & predicament of chimæras, was large satisfaction unto old expectations, and made one part of their Elysiums. But all this is nothing in the metaphysics of true belief. To live indeed is to be again ourselves, which being not only an hope but an evidence in noble believers, 'tis all one to lie in S. Innocents' churchyard as in the sands of Egypt. Ready to be anything, in the ecstacy of being ever, and as content with six foot as the *moles* of Adrianus.

FINIS

NOTES.

p. 8, l. 4. *Potosi*. The rich Mountain of Peru.

p. 9, l. 8. *Penthesilea*. Q. Calaber, *lib. 1.*

l. 11. *Chionia*. Ammianus Marcellinus. *Gumbrates*, King of *Chionia*, a Country near *Persia*.

l. 12. *West*. Arnold Montan. *Not. in Cæs. Commentar. L. Gyraldus, Kirckmannus.*

l. 16. *Table laws of burning*. 12 *Tabul. part. 1. de Jure sacro. Hominem mortuum in urbe nè sepelito, nève urito*, tom. 2. *Rogum asciù nè polito*, tom. 4. *Item Vigeneri Annotat. in Livium, & Alex. ab Alex. cum Tiraquello, Roscinus cum Dempster.*

l. 20. *Ovid. Ultima prolatæ subdita flamma rogo. Fast. lib. 4 cum Car Neapol. anaptyxi.*

p. 10, l. 16. *Athens*. And therefore the inscription of his Tomb was made accordingly.

p. 11, l. 7. *Ajax Oileus*. Which *Magius* reads ἐξαπόλωλε

l. 7. *Balearians*. Diodorus Siculus.

l. 14. *Chinese*. Ramusius in *Navigat.*

l. 21. *Censures. Martialis the Bishop, Cyprian.*

l. 29. *Friends*. Amos 6. 10.

l. 32. *Averse*, Sueton. *in vita Jul. Cæs.*

p. 12, l. 1. *Nation*. As that magnificent sepulchral Monument erected by *Simon, 1 Macc.* 13. 27, &c.

p. 14, l. 14. *Opal*. As one sent me by my worthy Friend Dr. *Thomas Whitherley*, of *Walsingham*.

p. 15, l. 13. *Cæsar. Hominum infinita multitudo est, creberrimaque ædifica fere Gallicis con similia. Cæs. de Bello Gal. l. 5.*

l. 18. *Buxton*. In the ground of my worthy Friend *Rob. Fegan*, Esq.; wherein some things contained were preserved by the most worthy Sir *William Paston*, Bt.

l. 25. *London*. From *Castor* to *Thetford* the *Romans* accounted 32 miles, and from thence observed not our common Road to *London*, but passed by *Combretonium, ad Ansam, Caronum, Cæsaramagus, &c.*, by *Bretenham, Coggeshall, Chelmsford, Burntwood, &c.*

l. 28. *Yarmouth*. Most at *Castor* by *Yarmouth*, found in a place called *East-bloodyburgh-furlong*, belonging to Mr. *Thomas Wood*, a person of civility, industry & knowledge in this way, who hath made observations of remarkable things abou him, and from whom we have received divers silver and copper coyns.

l. 28. *Brancaster*. Belonging to that noble gentleman and true example of worth, Sir *Ralph Hare*, Baronet, my honoured friend.

l. 29. *Matilda*. A piece of *Maud* the Empress said to be found in *Buckenham Castle* with this inscription, *Elle n'a elle*.

l. 31. *Silver pieces*. At *Thorpe*,

p. 16, l. 8. *Norwich*. Brampton, Abbas Jornallensis.

l. 14. *Spartans*. Plut. *in vita Lycurg.*

p. 17, l. 1. *Spitalfields*. *Stowe's Survey of London*.
l. 16. *Christians*. *Exerantur rogos, & damnant ignium sepulturam*. Min. in Oct.
l. 17. *Sidonius*. Sidon. *Apollinaris*.

p. 18, l. 4. *Farnese*. *Vigeneri Annot. in 4 Liv.*
l. 7. *Childerick*. *Chifflet. in Anast. Childer.*
l. 27. *Frugal bit*. *Dionis excerpta per Xiphilin. in Severo*.

p. 20, l. 4. *Wormius*. Olai *Wormii*, *Monumenta & Antiquitat. Dan.*
l. 11. *Rollrich Stones*. In *Oxfordshire*. Cambden.
l. 14. *Ashbury*. In *Cheshire*. *Twinus de rebus Albionicis*.
l. 16. *Massingham*. In *Norfolk*. Hollingshead.

p. 22, l. 3. *Jews*. *Matt. 23, 29*.
l. 4. *Hecuba*. *Euripides*.

p. 23, l. 15. *Inscriptions*. *Cum lacrymis posuere*.
l. 19. *Vinosity*. *Lazius*.
l. 21. *Fatal periods*. About 500 years. *Plato*.
l. 23. *Opimian*. *Vinum Opimianum annorum centum*.
l. 34. *S. Humbert*. *Surius*.

p. 24, l. 9. *North-east*. Gorop. *Becanus. in Niloscopio*.
l. 16. *Coals*. Of *Beringuccio, nella Pyrotechnia*.
l. 17. *Habitation*. At *Elmeham*.

p. 25, l. 10. *Tiberius*. *Sueton. in vita Tib. In Amphitheatro semiustulandum*.
l. 16. *Domitian*. *Sueton. in vita Domitian*.
l. 24. *Kindred*. So the most learned and worthy Mr. *M. Casaubon* upon *Antoninus*.
l. 29. *Hanging*. A barbarous Pastime at Feasts, when men stood upon a rolling Globe
with their Necks in a Rope, and a Knife in their hands, ready to cut it when
the Stone was rolled away, wherein if they failed, they lost their lives, to the
Laughter of their Spectators. *Athenaeus*.
l. 34. *D.M. Diis Manibus*.

p. 26, l. 2. *Hypogaeum*. *Bosio*.
l. 22. *Euripides*. *Pausan. in Atticis*.
l. 23. *Severus*. *Lamprid. in vit. Alexand. Severi*.
l. 24. *Golden urn*. *Trajanus*. *Dion*.
l. 27. *Marcellus*. *Plut. in vit. Marcelli*. The Commission of the *Gothish King Theodoric* for finding out Sepulchral Treasure, *Cassiodor. Var. l. 4*.

p. 27, l. 13. *Phyrrus his toe*. Which could not be burnt.
l. 34. *Best skeleton*. Old Bones, according to *Lyserus*. Those of young persons not tall
nor fat, according to *Columbus*.

p. 28, l. 2. *Plutarch*. *In vita Graec*.
l. 3. *Private pyre*. *Thucydides*.
l. 4. *King of Castile*. Laurent. *Valla*.
l. 12. *Metropolis of humidity*. The Brain. *Hippocrates*.
l. 16. *Edom*. *Amos 2. 1*.
l. 17. *Dead Relations*. As *Artemisia* of her husband *Mausolus*.

p. 30, l. 1. 1. *The Marquis of Dorset.* Whose Body, being buried 1530, was 1608 upon the cutting open of the cerecloth found perfect, and nothing corrupted, the Flesh not hardened, but in colour, proportion and softness like an ordinary Corpse newly to be interred. *Burton's descrip. of Leicestershire.*

l. 6. *Ortelius.* In his Map of *Russia*.

l. 15. *Cariola.* That part in the skeleton of an Horse, which is made by the haunch-bone.

l. 18. *Negroes' Skulls.* For their extraordinary thickness.

l. 18. *Dante's Characters.* The Poet *Dante*, in his view of Purgatory, found Gluttons so meagre and extenuated, that he conceived them to have been in the Siege of *Jerusalem*, & that it was easie to have discovered *Homo* or *Omo* in their Faces: *M* being made by the two lines of their Cheeks, arching over the Eye-brows to the Nose, and their sunk Eyes making *O O*, which makes up *Omo*.

p. 34, l. 24. *Socrates.* Plato in *Phæd.*

p. 35, l. 10. *Last valediction.* *Vale, vale, vale, nos te ordine quo Natura permittet sequamur.*

p. 36, l. 22. *Pythagorical foundation.* Francesco Perucci, *Pompe funebri.*

p. 38, l. 15. *Dante.* *Del Inferno, cant 4.*

p. 42, l. 6. *Sic ego . . . Tibullus.*

l. 21. *Moses.* In the Psalm of *Moses*.

l. 24. *Little Finger.* According to the ancient Arithmetick of the Hand, wherein the little Finger of the Right Hand contracted signified an Hundred. *Pierius* in Hieroglyph.

l. 30. *Alcmena's Nights.* One night as long as three.

p. 43, l. 3. *Questions.* The puzzling *Questions* of *Tiberius* unto Grammarians. *Marcel.* *Donatus* in Suet.

l. 24. *Prophecy of Elias.* That the world may last but 6,000 years.

l. 25. *Hector.* *Hector's* fame lasting above two lives of *Methuselab* before that famous Prince was extant.

p. 44, l. 6. *Mortal right-lined Circle.* Θ The character of Death.

l. 10. *Scarce forty years.* Old ones being taken up, and other Bodies laid under them.

l. 12. *Gruter.* *Gruteri Inscriptiones antique.*

p. 46, l. 2. *Merchandize.* Of the Mummies which men shew in several countries, giving them what names they please; and unto some the names of the old Egyptian kings out of *Herodotus*.

l. 32. *Five Languages.* In Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Egyptian, Arabick, defaced by *Licinus* the Emperor.

p. 47, l. 15. *Alaricus.* *Jornandes de rebus Geticis.*

l. 21. *Isaiah.* Isa. 14. 9.

l. 27. *Contingency.* *Angulus contingentiae*, the least of Angles.

p. 48, l. 6. *S. Innocent's Churchyard.* In *Paris*, where bodies soon consume.

l. 9. *Moles.* A stately *Mausoleum* or Sepulchral Pile built by *Adrianus* in *Rome*, where now standeth the Castle of *S. Angelo*.

HERE ENDS HYDRIOTAPHIA: URN BURIAL, OR A
DISCOURSE OF THE SEPULCHRAL URNS LATELY
FOUND IN NORFOLK: CXV. COPIES, OF WHICH
CV. ARE FOR SALE, PRINTED AT THE
GOLDEN COCKEREL PRESS:
FINISHED MARCH XVII.
MCMXXIII.



